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FROM: PARIS

TO: Secretary of State

NO: POLTO 2824, MARCH 26, 7 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT POLTO 2824, REPEATED INFORMATION LONDON POLTO 762, BONN POLTO 490, BERLIN POLTO 66, MOSCOW POLTO 163.

REFERENCE: POLTO 2798.

NAC MEETING (PRIVATE) MARCH 26 - GERMANY

BEGIN SUMMARY

NAC DISCUSSION REPORT OF WORKING GROUP SERVED CLARIFY STATUS OF REPORT AND BROUGHT OUT PRINCIPAL POINTS OF CONCERN TO VARIOUS NAC MEMBERS. NAC APPRECIATIVE OF EFFORTS MADE KEEP COUNCIL ABREAST WORKING GROUP'S PROGRESS. NORWAY, CANADA, DENMARK, BELGIUM AND SPAAK THOUGHT GROUP SOMEWHAT OVERCAUTION ON SECURITY QUESTIONS, ZONES AND ARMS LIMITATION, WHILE DUTCH DID NOT AGREE WITH THIS CRITICISM. POSSIBLE ROLE OF UN DISCUSSED WITH CANADA ADVOCATING UN SUPERVISION ANY FOUR POWERS AGREEMENT THAT MIGHT BE REACHED. SPAAK AND TURKEY CAUTIONED AGAINST GOING TO UN WITH WESTERN POSITION BASED ON RIGHTS OF CONQUEST WHICH WOULD HAVE LITTLE SUPPORT IN UN. RE PEACE TREATY, SPAAK THOUGHT TIME LONG PAST WHEN WE COULD CONSIDER TREATY NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES WHO DECLARED WAR ON GERMANY ON ONE SIDE AND ULLBRICHT AND ADENAUER ON THE OTHER. DUTCH AND GERMANS, HOWEVER, FAVORED EVENTUAL TREATY AS NECESSARY IF SEPARATION TWO GERMANIES NOT TO BE CONFIRMED PERMANENTLY.

END SUMMARY.

NORWAY

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NORWAY BEGAN DISCUSSION WITH FAIRLY LENGTHY STATEMENT POINTING OUT THAT SINCE REUNIFICATION APPARENTLY NOT AN IMMEDIATE PROSPECT, ANY PLAN IMPLYING REUNIFICATION POSSIBLE IS REALLY ONLY EFFECTIVE AS PROPAGANDA. THEREFORE FELT WORKING GROUP REPORT ON PAGES 5 AND 6 (REFERENCE HERE AND HEREAFTER IS TO DOCUMENT CIRCULATED IN NAC AND POUCHED DEPARTMENT REGISTRY NO 549231) RE EUROPEAN SECURITY TOO CAUTIOUS, DID NOT WHOLLY AGREE WITH STATEMENT PAGE 6 PARAGRAPH A). STRESSED SOVIETS NOT LIKELY RESORT TO ALL-OUT WAR BUT REAL DANGER IS THAT VARIOUS STEPS MIGHT LEAD TO SMALL SCALE WAR. THEREFORE REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS WITHOUT POLITICAL SETTLEMENT WOULD REDUCE THIS DANGER. THOUGHT WEST SHOULD ALSO NOT BE HESITANT ADVANCE PLAN FOR CONTROL AND INSPECTION WHICH WOULD MAKE CLEAR WESTERN WILLINGNESS TO GO FAR IN THAT RESPECT IF OTHER SIDE DID. THE LARGER THE ZONE, THE BETTER, BUT WG SEEMED MORE CONSERVATIVE THESE QUESTIONS THAN MILITARY AUTHORITIES HAD BEEN LAST YEAR. RE REUNIFICATION THOUGHT WG OVERCAUTIOUS AND BELIEVED WEST COULD BE FLEXIBLE RE STAGE AT WHICH FREE ELECTIONS HELD. RE CONTACTS BETWEEN TWO GERMANIES (PAGE 4) WONDERED WHETHER SOME COULD NOT IN FACT BE MODIFIED, FOR EXAMPLE CLEARANCE ON DOCUMENTS INVOLVED IN ACCESS TO BERLIN,

BELGIUM WONDERED WHAT WAS STATUS OF REPORT AND WHAT NAC SHOULD DO WITH IT. VIEWS EXPRESSED SEEMED ALREADY TO HAVE BEEN OVERTAKEN BY THOSE EMERGING FROM PRESS CONFERENCES OF VARIOUS LEADERS. THOUGHT THERE WERE ADVANTAGES IN ADOPTING METHOD MENTIONED PAGE 2 OF SEEING WHAT COULD BE ACCEPTED OF RUSSIAN PROPOSALS. WONDERED IF WEST COULD PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS SOVIETS WOULD ACCEPT IF WE CONTINUE TO LINK REUNIFICATION AND SECURITY. THOUGHT WEST SHOULD PRESENT PEACE TREATY PROPOSALS, BUT WHATEVER WEST DOES, IT SHOULD BE CLEAR ABOUT LINK BETWEEN SECURITY AND REUNIFICATION.

DENMARK ASSOCIATED ITSELF WITH BELGIAN REMARKS.

CANADA

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CANADA SUPPORTED MOST NORWEGIAN COMMENTS, ESPECIALLY IDEA WG OVERCAUTIOUS IN SECURITY MATTERS. AGAIN STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF ESTABLISHING MACHINERY FOR CONTINUED NEGOTIATION. ON ZONE OF INSPECTION POINTED OUT CANADA AND US HAVE AGREED THAT UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS ZONE INCLUDING NORTH AMERICA AND PARTS OF SOVIET UNION WOULD BE SATISFACTORY. THOUGHT WEST SHOULD STUDY CAREFULLY ROLE UN MIGHT PLAY IN SUPERVISING ANY AGREEMENT FOUR POWERS REACHED. WITH NEGOTIATIONS ENVISAGED FOR GENEVA AND POSSIBILITY HAMMERSKJOLD CHAIRING OPENING, WOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT ESTABLISH LINK WITH UN FROM OUTSET. FRANCE PICKING UP BELGIAN QUESTION RE STATUS OF REPORT, POINTED OUT IT WAS BEING MADE TO MEET NAC REQUEST FOR CLOSE ASSOCIATION OF WG. SAID FOUR POWERS WOULD WELCOME NAC VIEWS ON IT.

See SPAAK AGREED WITH BELGIUM THAT VIEWS OF WG IN SOME CASES OVERTAKEN BY THOSE EXPRESSED RECENTLY BY HEADS OF GOVERNMENT. COMMENTED THAT REPORT LEFT MANY QUESTIONS UNANSWERED. NOTED THAT SO FAR COMMENTS HAD BEEN ON PORTIONS WITH WHICH PEOPLE DISAGREED BUT HE WAS SURE THERE WERE OTHER POINTS IN REPORT WITH WHICH THERE WAS AGREEMENT. WONDERED IF STATEMENT THIRD PARAGRAPH PAGE 3 MEANT GERMANY SHOULD BE PUT TOGETHER AGAIN FROM LEGAL POINT OF VIEW OR AS PRACTICAL MATTER. CAUTIONED RE DANGERS OF GOING TO UN ESPECIALLY IF WEST BASED POSITION ON RIGHT OF CONQUEST. THOUGHT THIS WOULD HAVE LITTLE APPEAL IN 1959 IN UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THOUGHT PAPER CONTRADICTORY AND UNREALISTIC RE CONTACTS WITH GDR. FELT WE SHOULD FACE FACT THAT ANY EXPANSION OF CONTACTS, HOWEVER SMALL, INEVITABLY WOULD GRADUALLY LEAD TO RECOGNITION. AGREED WG OVERCAUTIOUS IN DEALING WITH SECURITY. TWO ESSENTIALS OF WESTERN POLICY WERE: (1) NO NEUTRALIZATION OF GERMANY, (2) NO WITHDRAWAL US AND UK FORCES FROM CONTINENT. RE ZONE OF CONTROL (PARAGRAPH 3 PAGE 6), AGREED IT SHOULD COVER PART OF RUSSIA BUT POINTED

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OUT SOVIETS WILL THEN DEMAND CONTROL IN US. RE PEACE TREATY, FAILED UNDERSTAND WHY WEST WOULD NOT GIVE THIS IDEA UP. WE ARE AT PEACE WITH GERMANY, OTHERWISE HOW COULD SHE HAVE BEEN ADMITTED TO NATO AND OTHER EUROPEAN ORGANIZATIONS. AS NOTED IN SUMMARY ABOVE, FOUND IDEA OF PEACE CONFERENCE FANTASTIC. RE BERLIN, AGREED WITH PRINCIPLES A) AND B) ON PAGE 7 BUT HAD RESERVATION RE WISDOM BASING WESTERN POSITION THERE ON RIGHT OF CONQUEST.

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FRANCE REJOINED THAT RIGHT OF CONQUEST (OR OCCUPATION)
 WAS LEGAL BASIS OF OUR POSITION AND ONE THE GERMANS
 THEMSELVES WISHED US TO RETAIN RE BERLIN. FURTHERMORE,
 BERLINERS HAD OVERWHELMINGLY REJECTED "FREE CITY" IDEA
 AND ENDORSED OUR OCCUPATION. ON THIS LAST POINT SPAAK
 REPLIED BERLINERS HAD VOTED NOT AGAINST A REALLY FREE
 CITY BUT AGAINST KHRUSHCHEV'S VERSION.

DUTCH WELCOMED WG REPORT. DID NOT AGREE WITH CRITICISM
 IT WAS TOO CAUTIOUS. AGREED WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO DEFEND
 IN UN WESTERN POSITION BASED ON OCCUPATION. THOUGHT WEST
 SHOULD ADVANCE PEACE TREATY SINCE FAILURE TO DO SO
 MIGHT IMPLY RECOGNITION OF STATUS QUO. THOUGHT WESTERN
 PROPOSALS SHOULD BE ADVANCED IN FORM OF ROUGH OUTLINE.

CANADA CLARIFIED POSITION RE ROLE OF UN AS SUPERVISOR ONLY
 IF FOUR POWER AGREEMENT REACHED. WOULD HAVE ADVANTAGES OF
 INVOLVING NEUTRAL COUNTRIES IN FULFILLMENT OF AGREEMENTS RE
 GERMANY AND MIGHT FORCE SOVIETS TO BE MORE COOPERATIVE.
 THOUGHT THAT UN WOULD INEVITABLY BE SEIZED WITH PROBLEM,
 WHETHER WEST LIKED IT OR NOT, IF FOUR POWERS UNABLE REACH
 AGREEMENT, AND WEST THEREFORE MUST BE READY TO PUT CASE
 IN MOST ADVANTAGEOUS MANNER.

TURKEY AGREED THERE WOULD BE DIFFICULTIES FOR WEST IN UN
 IF POSITION BASED ON RIGHT OF CONQUEST BUT THOUGHT THIS
 DIFFICULTY DID NOT HOLD FOR FOUR POWER NEGOTIATIONS.

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POINTED OUT RIGHT OF CONQUEST DEAR TO SOVIETS, THEY HAVING EXERCISED IT MANY TIMES SINCE WORLD WAR TWO UNDER GUISE OF " LIBERATION ". FELT UN SHOULD NOT BE SEIZED WITH QUESTION AT BEGINNING, ONE REASON BEING THAT GERMANY NOT A MEMBER AND COULD NOT PRESENT CASE.

GERMANY SAID BERLINERS MOST WANT THEIR CITY TO BE CAPITAL OF UNIFIED GERMANY BUT UNTIL THIS HAPPENED WISHED OCCUPATION TROOPS TO REMAIN FOR OTHERWISE IT COULD NOT BE A TRULY FREE CITY. AGREED WITH SPAAK PEACE TREATY NOT NECESSARY TO END STATE OF WAR BUT IS ONLY MEANS BY WHICH PROMISE COULD BE KEPT WHICH WAS MADE IN 1945 TO REUNIFY GERMANY.

US SAID HE HAD THOUGHT WG REPORT SET FORTH A COLLECTION OF AXIOMS WHICH WOULD BE BASIC TO POLICY POSITIONS AND TACTICS. APPARENTLY, FROM THE DISCUSSION, THERE ARE CERTAIN WG STATEMENTS UPON WHICH THERE IS NOT ENTIRE AGREEMENT. THOUGHT REPORT IN DEALING WITH RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO GERMANIES WENT SOMEWHAT FURTHER THAN PREVIOUS STATEMENTS. AGREED WE SHOULD THINK SERIOUSLY ABOUT POSSIBLE ROLE FOR UN AND WELCOMED NAC DISCUSSION OF REPORT.

UK HAD THOUGHT NAC MIGHT FIND REPORT DISAPPOINTING IN SOME RESPECTS BUT POINTED OUT IT WENT AS FAR AS GROUP COULD GO WITHOUT FIRMER DIRECTIVES FROM PRINCIPALS. THIS REPORT JUST A STAGE IN GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN POSITION AND FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD CONSIDER IT AND THEN GIVE FURTHER GUIDANCE. THOUGHT TODAY'S DISCUSSION HAD BEEN MOST HELPFUL. CLOSED BY CALLING ATTENTION TO PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT IN COMMONS THAT ON HIS VARIOUS VISITS HE HAD NOT ATTEMPTED TO REACH AGREEMENT BUT AT LEAST HIS DISCUSSIONS HAD AFFORDED WEST MUCH-NEEDED TIME TO WORK OUT POSITIONS.

COMMENT: BELIEVE THIS NAC DISCUSSION, TOGETHER WITH EARLIER ONES ON SUBJECT GERMANY (POLTOS 2817, 2725, 2702

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AND 2604) GIVES PREVIEW OF POSITIONS VARIOUS MINISTERS LIKELY TO EXPRESS IN WASHINGTON MEETING.

NORWAY, BELGIUM AND CANADA LIKELY URGE WEST GO FAR IN TRYING TO FIND PROPOSALS TO ADVANCE RE DISARMAMENT AND CONTROL NOT NECESSARILY LINKED TO REUNIFICATION.

CANADA WILL PROBABLY STRESS IMPORTANCE OF WEST INVOLVING UN IN BERLIN PROBLEM, AND WILL URGE WEST TO PREPARE ITSELF FOR EVENTUALITY MATTER WILL BE INTRODUCED IN UN WHETHER WEST LIKES IT OR NOT. SEVERAL MINISTERS AND SPAAK WILL CAUTION AGAINST DANGER IN ANY UN DISCUSSION OF BASING WESTERN CASE ON RIGHTS OF OCCUPATION AND SPAAK WILL BE LEERY ABOUT GETTING UN INVOLVED AT ALL.

ITALY AND OTHERS INCLUDING DUTCH AND BELGIANS WILL PROBABLY WISH RECORD DESIRE BE INCLUDED ANY CONFERENCE IF MEMBERSHIP BROADENED BEYOND 4 POWERS.

DUTCH MAY URGE WEST PUT FORWARD OUTLINE OF PEACE TREATY BUT SPAAK WILL PROBABLY NOT FAVOR THIS.

SPAAK WILL CAUTION AGAINST INCREASED CONTACTS WITH GDR UNLESS WEST PREPARED EVENTUALLY RECOGNIZE THAT REGIME.

FINALLY, NORWAY, CANADA, DENMARK AND BELGIUM WILL FAVOR SUMMIT MEETING UNDER ALMOST ANY CONDITIONS. OTHERS WILL BE MORE CAUTIOUS IN VARYING DEGREES BUT ALL EXPECT SUMMIT TAKE PLACE.

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